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UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

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LONDON

A quarter of a century has now elapsed since the foundation of Toynbee Hall in the east of London inaugurated the "University Settlement" movement in the vast and then almost inchoate capital of the British Empire; and the present time seems therefore appropriate for an attempt to form some estimate of the past results and future possibilities of the movement, which soon spread to other towns of England and Scotland. Yet such an undertaking is beset with serious difficulties. Throughout the whole history of the settlements there is indeed apparent an essential identity of purpose, an underlying uniformity of motive; but the individual institutions have been the outcome of the action of various bodies of persons whose aims, as formally expressed, seem often very diverse; different groups have laid the main emphasis on different objects and methods, and what has been counted as triumphant success by one group has been deemed of relatively small importance by another. Further, the wide range of the activities of the settlements, the multifarious nature of their interests and work, render it practically impossible for any one observer to comprehend the whole in his single survey; and the selection which he must needs make tends almost inevitably to be determined, and it may be even unfairly biased, by his own personal predilections. Within this narrower range, moreover, there is no certain standard by which to measure success or failure; the value of the work accomplished by a settlement is not to be judged solely, or even chiefly, by the statistics of its classes and clubs. If it has realized its objects, however imperfectly, it has exercised upon the surrounding community, in conjunction with all other institutions that in any way and by any means make for good, a subtle and permeating influence which has resulted in a progressive amelioration of social life; but, for

the very reason that this achievement is the result of a number of co-operating forces, the share of the settlement therein cannot be isolated or defined with any exactitude.

Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, it seems worth while to endeavor to indicate some of the lines upon which the University Settlements in the United Kingdom have worked, to furnish some examples of their activities, and, subject to the limitations set forth above, to attain to some definite appreciation of their achievements; and, that being done, to face the more difficult task of attempting to form some judgment as to the problems which now beset them, and the extent to which their modes of organization and action may require modification if their career of social usefulness is to be continued.

I

The University Settlement movement originated in London with the establishment of Toynbee Hall in 1885, and although, as already remarked, it subsequently spread to a number of other towns in England and Scotland, London has witnessed its fullest development and most varied manifestations, and has furnished the severest test of its utility in the service of the community.¹ The reasons for the concentration upon London of by far the greater part of the energy and enthusiasm thrown into the movement are fairly obvious. The metropolis offered the most tempting field for the investigator of economic conditions and social

¹ It may be useful to give in this place the dates of the foundation of some of the settlements. In London: Toynbee Hall, 1885; Oxford House, 1887, with connected women's settlements later; the Women's University Settlement, Southwark, 1887; Mansfield House, 1890 (a women's settlement was established in 1892); Bermondsey Settlement (men and women), 1891; Newman House, 1891; Chalfont House, 1891; Browning Hall, 1894; Cambridge House, 1897 (following on a series of missions, with clubs and other societies, established by various Cambridge colleges and some public schools); and the Passmore Edwards Settlement (a new form of an older institution), 1897. Outside London: Chalmers (University) Settlement, Edinburgh, 1887; New College Settlement, Edinburgh, 1889; University Students' Settlement, Glasgow, 1889; Manchester University Settlement (men's and women's houses), 1895; Victoria Women's Settlement, Liverpool, 1897; the Birmingham Women's Settlement, 1899. The above list does not profess to be exhaustive; there are numerous other settlements, of various types, alike in London and elsewhere.

relationships, for its problems, while similar in kind to those presented by other great towns of the United Kingdom, were infinitely more varied, and were complicated by certain factors peculiar to London itself. The vastness of its geographical extent; the consequent segregation of rich and poor, and the intensity of contrasts in social conditions; the drab monotony of life throughout great stretches, especially of the east and south; the unorganized condition of vast numbers of its workers and the economic evils resulting therefrom; the extent and gravity of its problems of ignorance and poverty, and the need for cautious study and intelligent leadership in their solution; the almost total absence of any communal feeling or municipal enthusiasm such as other English and Scotch cities knew—it was in the period before the creation of the London County Council, and when the local administration of the metropolis had reached perhaps its lowest level; and, finally, the admitted failure of the majority of the religious organizations to maintain any real hold upon the mass of the people—all these things made an especial appeal to the leaders of the new movement, who saw in London opportunities, so vast and varied and urgent as to be almost overwhelming, of useful labor for every worker whom they could enlist, whatever his political and religious creeds and whatever the nature of his ability.

The avowed aims and methods of the settlements seemed almost as varied as the problems with which they were intended to cope. In an essay included in the volume entitled *University and Social Settlements*, published in 1898, Canon Barnett defined the original causes of the settlement movement as being (1) “a distrust of machinery,” which led people to seek for some other way than that of institutions by which to reach their neighbors,” and to welcome the idea of a settlement “where they might live their own lives and also make friends among the poor”; (2) the “demand for more information,” inducing those who cared for social reform to live in the neighborhoods where the need for action seemed greatest, in order that they might acquire that accurate and detailed knowledge which can alone afford a sure basis for effective philanthropic and social work; and (3) “the growth of the human spirit,” and the revulsion against the old methods,

due to "the recognition that old forms of benevolence were often patronizing in character, that charities and missions often assumed a superiority in their supporters, and that sectarian philanthropy often developed party bitterness." Consequently its founders intended Toynbee Hall to be, what it has in fact remained throughout its history, a "club-house in Whitechapel occupied by men who do citizen's duty in the neighborhood," but are not bound by allegiance to any common political, social, or religious creed. In regard to none of the questions of the day was there to be a "Toynbee Hall policy"; the settlement as such did not undertake any definite line of social action, and still less did it propose to identify itself with any particular branch of religious work, or indeed, as a settlement, to engage in such work; so long as a resident was prepared to work side by side with others of different views, so long could he determine freely the line which his own personal activity should take.

In this attitude Toynbee Hall has, however, found few imitators. The Passmore Edwards Settlement (which is due to the efforts of Mrs. Humphry Ward) was a reconstruction of an earlier work undertaken by her in 1890, with the support of a group who "wished to create in the poorer parts of St. Pancras a new centre for the action of certain social forces; to test thereby—within a small sphere—the action upon life and within life of certain forms of religious thought; and they pledged themselves to forward an improved study of the Bible and of religious history and tradition in general." But seven years later, when the Settlement in its present form was established, the policy underwent a change; the new settlement, as such, took no religious side and deliberately abstained from any religious work; and it has on the whole avoided the formulation of anything like a "settlement policy" even in social matters.

Certain of the provincial settlements are characterized by the same indefiniteness (as, for example, the Manchester Art Museum and University Settlement); but practically all the London settlements other than those mentioned, and some of those in other towns, represent the desire of one or other of the great religious denominations to remove the reproach which a generation ago was very generally levelled—and with some measure of justice

—against the churches, that the indifference of the masses of the workers was due in large measure to the failure of the churches to enter sufficiently into the daily life of the people and (save by an often indiscriminate charity) to alleviate the dull monotony of their existence or to aid in the solution of the pressing economic and social problems of modern life. The work of the settlement which comes next after Toynbee Hall in order of time—Oxford House—was the first manifestation of this revival of what may be described as home-missionary zeal, and may be added to the list of causes indicated by Canon Barnett; it was definitely associated with a particular Church of England parish, and was commenced “in order that Oxford men may take part in the social and religious work of the Church in East London; that they may learn something of the life of the poor; may try to better the conditions of the working classes as regards health and recreation, mental culture and spiritual teaching; and may offer an example, as far as in them lies, of a simple and religious life.” Oxford House was rapidly followed by similar institutions, each supported mainly by a particular religious denomination, such as Mansfield House (Congregational), the Bermondsey Settlement (Wesleyan), Browning Hall (Congregational), and Cambridge House (Church of England)—to mention only a few conspicuous examples; and in some the definitely religious basis of the work was even more pronounced than in the case even of Oxford House. The warden of the Bermondsey Settlement (Dr. J. Scott Lidgett) writes in a recent annual report:—

Mankind is saved, however, not merely or so much by practical work as by the ideals which are embodied in it. Unless a many-sided work is inspired and organized by such ideals, it is liable to suffer by confusion and distraction. What then are the ideals which give unity to our Settlement work? In the first place, the belief that true religion exists to transform all social life, and to direct every human faculty to its true goal and satisfaction. In the next place, the conviction that the supreme ends of Christianity and progress can only be carried out by seeking to rise above the differences of denominations or parties and to establish the wider comradeship of all who deeply care for the higher interests of the people. And, lastly, the recognition that the supremacy of the divine law of service is the only remedy for all forms of selfishness, with its inevitable hatred and class warfare.

Browning Hall, which, owing to the energy and devotion of its warden (Rev. F. Herbert Stead), has developed from an unimportant Congregational church into a settlement with far-reaching activities, has taken an even more distinctive attitude. "We stand," its warden wrote, "for the Labor Movement in religion. We stand for the endeavor to obtain for Labor not merely more of the good things in life, but most of the best things in life." In connection with this settlement, as with the Bermondsey Settlement, active evangelical work is a conspicuous feature.²

Cambridge House, in South London, was the result of a desire expressed by some of the high authorities of the Church of England for the establishment there of a university centre where laymen could live in order to assist the clergy of the various missions founded by Cambridge colleges and certain public schools in that district—which has been described as the largest area of unbroken poverty in the world; the assistance being chiefly in the formation and conduct of clubs and societies of divers kinds. Thus Cambridge House, while not itself engaged in religious work in the strict sense of the term, is a kind of lay centre and guide for the social work of a number of Church missions, and the connection between the two branches of the latter's work is very close.

Several of the settlements have departments for women workers, either under the same control as or working in co-operation with the men's departments, and almost all make use of the services of women helpers in one way or another. But there are also a number of independent women's settlements; and it is noteworthy that in most of these emphasis is laid upon systematic training for social work. Certainly in the case of the residents in and workers at the men's settlements the educative effect of the work is very considerable, but it is to a large extent

² The "institutional churches," as they are called,—the most conspicuous examples in London being Claremont and the Whitefield Tabernacle,—are carrying on work which in many respects closely resembles that of the settlements. They are churches around which have been built up a number of clubs and other societies for men, women, and children, the church remaining the centre and main-spring of the whole work. The tendency of such a church, as its work expands, to develop into something very akin to a regular settlement is exemplified by the history of Browning Hall; Claremont appears to be moving in the same direction.

unconscious; in the case of the women's settlements, doubtless because a much larger proportion of the residents intend to devote their whole time to social work, either voluntarily or as a profession, opportunities are afforded for organized training. The earliest independent women's settlement—the Women's University Settlement, Southwark—was founded “(a) to promote the welfare of the poorer people of the districts of London and especially of the women and children, by devising and promoting schemes which tend to elevate them physically, intellectually, or morally and by giving them additional opportunities for education and recreation; and (b) to maintain a house or houses for the residence of women engaged in or connected with philanthropic or educational work in the districts aforesaid”; and in connection with it there was early inaugurated a scheme of training, which has recently been combined with the work of the London School of Sociology. The Birmingham Women's Settlement, formed in 1899, definitely stated as its primary object the creation of “a centre for resident and non-resident workers for systematic study with reference to social work and industrial conditions.” In this case, as also in that of the Victoria Settlement for Women at Liverpool, the courses of study have recently been placed upon a more stable footing as a result of the co-operation of the authorities of the Universities of Birmingham and Liverpool respectively.³

It will be apparent from what has already been said that, taking the movement as a whole, the predominant tendency has been for the settlements to engage, to a greater or smaller extent, in active religious work. The nature of that work is necessarily affected by the particular beliefs characteristic of the denomination with which any given settlement is mainly associated; but, for a number of obvious reasons, the stamp of denominationalism tends to be less conspicuous in the case of those settlements which are non-conformist in origin than in the case of those which have

³ It is perhaps desirable to point out again that the present article does not profess to attempt a complete or detailed survey—such an attempt would require a volume. It is not possible to notice here all the various forms of settlements, and the omission of individual institutions or even of classes (such as the numerous small religious settlements of ladies working under ecclesiastical guidance) must not be taken to imply any failure to appreciate the value of their work.

been established under Church of England auspices and are (as Oxford House) regarded as social training schools for future clergy. It might be supposed that the mere fact of the religious work would repel many of those whom the settlements were intended to benefit, more particularly when the work took something of a denominational aspect; but experience points strongly in the opposite direction. In the first place, the settlements have rarely endeavored to make participation in their religious life a condition of admission to the social advantages which they offer; they have contented themselves with giving opportunities and examples.⁴ Secondly, while it is true that association with a particular denomination probably tends to produce uniformity of type among those connected with any given institution, since the appeal for workers is made primarily to the denomination, and minds which share common beliefs in matters of religion and church organization will probably think alike on other questions also; yet there cannot be any doubt that what the work may lose in breadth of outlook it will as a rule more than recover in intensity. There is ample room for both classes of settlements—those with and those without a common religious basis and ideal; both can find abundant opportunities for useful labor; but to the present writer it appears certain that those whose workers draw their inspiration from a common religious creed (whatever it be) and find in it their guide in social work, are likely to exercise, not perhaps the widest, but certainly the deepest and most lasting influence. Settlements, if their work is to be enduring, must deal with the individual man and woman, as well as with mankind in the mass; the individual needs a faith, and to the ordinary man codes of morality or ethical teaching do not offer sufficient inspiration.

⁴ The present Bishop of London, who achieved great success as the head of Oxford House, wrote: "On Sunday, have a Bible-class connected with the (boys') club; but if you take my advice, you will not make attendance at it a test for coming to the club. . . . I doubt the expediency of the test club, unless your rooms are so small that you can only take a small number, and definitely prefer to pick the boys who wish at once to be religious." And of men's clubs: "Here again, you must at once make up your mind whether you are going to cater for Jacob and Esau; if for Jacob, then make any rules you like; there ought not to be the slightest difficulty in working a quiet club for your church working-men. . . . The clubs I speak of are for Esau, and as a first step to making him religious, have no religious test."

One other conspicuous fact in connection with the London settlements is the absence of any central association for the discussion of the various problems encountered in the course of their work, or to serve as a clearing-house for ideas. An attempt was made to form such an association some ten years ago, but the result was only short-lived; and no effort seems to have been made to resuscitate it. The reasons of the failure are not very clear; and at a time like the present, when all the settlements are beset by a number of similar questions clamoring for solution, the absence of any arrangements for joint discussion would seem to be a distinct source of weakness. Some eight or nine years ago a Conference of Northern Settlements was formed under the leadership of the Manchester University Settlement; but that also languished, and though an attempt is now being made to revive it, its organization is so far very informal and undeveloped.

II

Turning now to a general survey of the principal branches of the settlements' activities, the first of these, *religious work*, may be dismissed briefly, not because it is slight or of small importance—sufficient has already been said to indicate that the very contrary is the case; but in its general lines it does not differ very appreciably from that carried on by other religious institutions of narrower scope, and the depth and breadth of the influence exercised by the settlements in this regard is peculiarly difficult to estimate. The variety of the creeds represented, and the impossibility of gauging in casual visits the strength and vigor of the spiritual life of the various settlements, would render it presumptuous for any single observer to offer a detailed judgment or criticism. Nevertheless it may be remarked that in all the references to this matter which are contained in the annual reports of the settlements there is the same note of success and optimism; and that this feeling is justified is beyond doubt. Amid so much work it would be invidious to single out particular examples; but attention may be directed to one recent event, because it seems to the present writer to possess especial significance. In May of the year 1910 there was held at Browning Hall a "Labor

Week"—that is to say, a special mission at which all the speakers were recognized leaders of the labor movement, several among them being labor members of Parliament. In several of the addresses emphasis was laid on the change which in recent years has come over the relations between the churches as organizations and the mass of the workers; the old feeling of estrangement (which was, however, probably never so great as it was represented to be) is passing away. One speaker, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., a former chairman of the Labor Party, could declare his conviction that "happily there never was a time when organized Christianity was seeking as now to know exactly the mind of the mass of the people, and to apply the Master's teaching to the betterment of society"; while another, with a wide experience of London and her poor, affirmed that in his belief "in front of the Christian churches is the most glorious time they have ever experienced. At no time before have men longed for the message as they are longing for it today." Even when allowance be made for the strong personal leanings of the speakers, these utterances do represent substantial truth; and the fact is of vital importance for the future of social reform. It would be idle to claim for the settlements all the credit; they are only one of the agencies which have brought about the change in the outlook both of churches and people; but it may safely be asserted that they have contributed potently, partly by the practical demonstration which they have afforded of the application of religious principles in the solution of social problems, and partly by the training and experience which they have afforded to those who were destined to become priests and pastors and their consequent reaction upon the churches from which they draw their support.

Recreative. The central and dominant idea in the work of the settlements in the provision and organization of recreation has been that of the Club, for men, women, boys, or girls; and the general policy adopted has been to give the clubs so formed, especially those for men and boys, the fullest possible autonomy, subject of course to the ultimate control of the settlement authorities. Two extracts from recent reports will illustrate this. Oxford and Cambridge Houses are each the centre of a Federation of Working Men's Social Clubs, which are non-political and non-

alcoholic, and impose no religious test on their members. In a report on the clubs contained in a recent number of the *Cambridge House Magazine* there occurs the following passage:—

One of the most interesting features of the year's work has been the success of two clubs which had re-constituted themselves on independent lines. These clubs are now entirely responsible for their own finances and management; and the keen interest which the members take in the affairs of their clubs and the excellent way in which those offices are conducted, are strong arguments in favor of the proposition (which is by no means universally held) that independent clubs are generally the healthiest and most efficient, and that the object to be aimed at by the promoters of such clubs as ours should be to render the members capable of managing their own affairs, and then to allow them to do so. This is particularly so with regard to finance; if members have to find the money for carrying on the various activities of the club, they take care to see that it is spent in a way they approve of, and are thus led to take a keen interest in the management of the affairs of the club.

With regard to boys' clubs, where the necessity for financial support and some measure of control from outside is clearly much greater, the following statement of policy appears in the Mansfield House Report for 1909:—

The aim of a Boys' Club, as we understood it, is to supply means for the development of the character of the members on a side which is scarcely touched by the training provided by the state or municipality; the Club should, if it realized its ideal, be a practice-ground in the duties of citizenship. In some directions, at any rate, the sense of unity—the *esprit de corps*—which is rarely planted in a boy at the ordinary elementary school, ought to be taught in a well-organized club, and, arising out of this, the idea of collective responsibility of all members, not only to one another but to the outside public, should be trained up; above all, the Club should offer many chances for developing on right lines the powers of leadership which exist in a fair proportion of boys, and which, if undirected, may quickly result in far-reaching evil.

The provision of opportunities for social meeting and recreation under healthy and comfortable conditions is of tremendous importance in the densely crowded cities, and this fact had long been recognized in England, though many of the clubs formed to meet the needs of the men were not of a desirable kind. In this

regard the settlements have shown little originality;⁵ all they have done is to endeavor to give to the clubs which they have formed a higher tone and to bring them into close touch with the other branches of the settlements' work. Their work has in this respect been decidedly successful on the whole—Cambridge House is the centre of fifteen associated clubs, Oxford House has several, and most of the other settlements have strong clubs connected with them—though the competition of the numerous local political clubs has to some extent checked their development. But in regard to boys' clubs the work of the settlements has been far more distinctive. All the men's settlements have been much occupied with the question of the town boy; all have formed clubs—in some instances, as at Oxford House, it has been found desirable to have different clubs for boys of different grades; and are contributing substantially to the solution of one of the most difficult of social problems—that of the city boy who at the time when he is most impressionable goes from the discipline of the elementary school to make his way in life amid conditions which often, if not positively evil, are at least unfavorable to the formation of sound character. The provision of opportunities for healthy recreation—not only in the clubs proper, but in the cricket, football, swimming, and other outdoor clubs, summer camps, and cadet corps of various kinds connected therewith—together with some amount of discipline and moral influence, is of incalculable importance; and, although progress is necessarily slow, the efforts made have already yielded substantial results. Nor is this all: the workers in the boys' clubs have opportunities of becoming acquainted with the actual conditions of boy life and labor, which not only enable them to advise and guide individual boys, and in some instances to secure apprenticeships for them, but places at the disposal of the State expert knowledge—the value of which is at last being realized—in the effort to deal comprehensively with the problems of industrial training and the wise utilization of the yearly supplies of boy workers, with a view to the de-

⁵ The Working Men's Club and Institute Union, a very large federation of independent and self-supporting clubs in London and the provincial towns, has done valuable work in this direction, but its objects have been almost purely recreative.

casualization of labor and the reduction of the number of the unskilled.⁶ A writer in a recent number of the *Toynbee Record* thus sums up the results of the efforts made:—

Working lads' clubs have been in existence in London for many years. We are therefore in a position to see the results. Our boys are in all parts of the world, many in excellent positions both abroad and in London. We have trained up generations sprung from the poorest of the poor, who are now self-supporting, self-respecting, and useful citizens of the Empire. We hold that our work among lads is tending to stop eleemosynary relief in the future. It is largely preventive work. We see that our lads are apprenticed to good trades, we find them jobs with good masters, we advise them in all their difficulties, and we turn out useful men.

In the case of the numerous clubs for women and girls the lines of work are necessarily somewhat different. In particular the measure of autonomy accorded to the men's and boys' clubs is seldom practicable. The clubs for women take very generally the form of "women's meetings" held in the week-day afternoons, and having in connection therewith thrift societies, clothing societies, and similar associations. In some instances, however, there are club rooms for women which are open almost every evening; and this is generally so with the girls' clubs, whose primary purpose is much the same as that of the boys' clubs—the provision of opportunities for recreation free from the perils which beset girls in other places of amusement, but which feel also the imperative necessity of taking every possible step to promote by gymnasia, medical aid, country holidays, etc., the physical well-being of the girls, the conditions of whose life and work in factories and shops are so often inimical to the future of the race. In these respects much has been accomplished, but there is room, as with the boys' clubs, for almost infinite expansion.

Educational Work. One of the principal objects of the settlements in their early days was the supply of educational facilities—both in conjunction with the University Extension Societies and by the establishment of independent classes and courses of

⁶ The formation of Advisory Committees on Juvenile Employment in connection with the new national system of Labor Exchanges is an important development which should afford many opportunities for the use of the knowledge and experience so acquired.

study; and educational work is still an important branch of their activities. Thus in the winter term of 1909-10 there were at Toynbee Hall courses of lectures or classes in such subjects as "The Evolution of British Society," "Napoleon the Great and his Times," nature study, Bible history, French, German, Italian, and English Literature, Shakspeare, economics, German, French, and Esperanto, physiology, singing, and home nursing; the Bermondsey Settlement has classes in bookkeeping, shorthand, typewriting, arithmetic, German, French, Latin, Greek, English grammar and composition, art-needlework, music, photography, dressmaking, and ambulance work, and had recently University Extension courses on such subjects as Shakspeare, and the architecture and history of London; and at other settlements, where the educational work is less extensive and varied, there are classes and courses of lectures (University Extension and others), and libraries for the use of their students and club members. Practically all the settlements have series of popular lectures on various subjects through the winter months, on Saturday or Sunday evenings; some, as the Passmore Edwards Settlement, pay especial attention to music, by the formation of choral and orchestral societies and the regular provision of good concerts, for which experience shows that there is a real demand; and all have around them societies for the study (less formal than in classes) of literature, economics, history, science, and art; while in a few cases co-operative holiday societies have been formed for continental travel. Regular debates are another important part of the educational work (the Manchester University Settlement has the unusual feature of a debating society for women). Finally, in this connection mention should be made of the Art Exhibitions arranged for a number of years at Toynbee Hall by Canon Barnett, which led finally to the erection of the White-chapel Municipal Art Gallery with its annual exhibitions; the similar exhibitions which have been organized from time to time by other settlements; and the "Manchester Art Museum," not to be confounded with the municipal Art Gallery, founded in 1877 and incorporated with the University Settlement in 1901.

In regard to educational work generally, it must be pointed out that the position has undergone marked changes for the better

since the inauguration of the settlement movement. The great developments of technical education since the enactment of the law of 1889; the provision of evening continuation and higher grade schools by the educational authorities; the improvement of the curricula; the growth of the polytechnics; the spread of public libraries—have all contributed to render unnecessary much of the work in this direction which the settlements originally had in view. The following extract from a recent annual report of Toynbee Hall illustrates this:—

The direct educational work of Toynbee Hall . . . claims less of the time and thought of present-day Residents than of their predecessors, but the various classes and lectures have been on the whole very well attended, and are stamped with an individuality which could not be mechanically reproduced elsewhere. This is largely due to the *esprit de corps* of the students, springing from the sense of co-partnership which is characteristic of all the best work of the Settlement. . . . Contrasting the present educational work of the Settlement with that of earlier years, one must feel that the pioneer work then undertaken has given way to greater and more systematic efforts on the part of the community. Such classes as were formerly held are no longer needed to the same extent within the buildings of Toynbee Hall itself.

But there remains much valuable work for the settlements to do, as the warden of the Bermondsey Settlement has pointed out, both in providing systematic courses for those who on account of age or other reasons would find the conditions in the evening schools established by the educational authorities somewhat irksome, and in providing those opportunities for cultural recreation to which reference has been made above; and also in stimulating in their surrounding neighborhoods “a deeper and more widespread desire for education in the broadest sense.”⁷ It is hoped that the settlements may perform a useful service in assisting in the work of the newly formed Workers’ Educational Association, which aims at bringing about (with the co-operation of the trade unions) a closer relation between the universities and work-

⁷ It is right to mention here the valuable educational work done by such other institutions as the Working Men’s College, which led the way in the higher education of the working classes, the older Polytechnics, the Morley Memorial College, the People’s Palace, and the University Extension Societies.

ing-men than has hitherto been attained and lays emphasis on tutorial and class work rather than on lectures.

Educational Work among Children. One branch of educational work which is of very great importance is that among children; and to the development of this the settlements have contributed largely. Their efforts have been directed mainly to (a) attempts to deal with special classes of children with which the education authorities were, or are still, unable to cope; (b) the organization of vacation schools; (c) the provision of organized recreation.

(a) Experiments in dealing with children who are seriously crippled, and for whom therefore transport to and from school and special attention during the hours of attendance are necessary, had been made by the Women's University Settlement, Southwark, and the Victoria Settlement, Liverpool; but the first fully equipped day school was established in connection with the Passmore Edwards Settlement in 1899, the education authority (then the London School Board) providing the trained teachers and school equipment, and the settlement undertaking to supply the necessary rooms and playground, to appoint and pay a nurse, to maintain a special ambulance for the conveyance of the children, and to arrange for dinners at a very small charge and a staff of voluntary helpers to assist during the dinner interval. The school speedily showed its value in the physical and mental progress of the children who came under its care; and the example thus set was speedily followed by private effort and by the public authorities in various parts of the country until it became an integral part of the national system (the powers of the education authorities in this regard having been enlarged).

(b) The vacation schools for children are so well known in the United States that it is unnecessary to describe them in this place. It will suffice to say that the first step in the direction of their establishment in the United Kingdom was taken by Mrs. Humphry Ward in conjunction with the Passmore Edwards Settlement in 1902. The attempt met with marked success; and the work has grown until in 1909 there were in London two large vacation schools, an organized playground (on the plan adopted by the Playground Association of America), and a small experimental school for especially "delicate and necessitous children." Similar

work is also being done elsewhere (for example, by Browning Hall and the Victoria Settlement at Liverpool); its moral and physical results are so beneficent that its extension is greatly to be desired, and it may be hoped that before long the public authorities will unite with private enterprise for its rapid extension.

(c) The belief that recreation, if properly guided, can exercise a powerful influence in the formation of character (a belief for which the experience of the settlements provides abundant justification), has found expression also in the provision and teaching of organized recreation for children. The most elaborate development has taken place out of the Children's Recreation School started, also by Mrs. Humphry Ward, at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in 1897: the school is now open five days a week for an hour and a quarter in the early evening, and also on Saturday mornings. Teaching is provided in numerous handwork occupations, and in combined games. The success of the work led to the formation in 1904 of a committee to develop similar schools elsewhere in the poorest and most crowded parts of London; and in the opening months of 1910 there were thirteen other centres controlled by the committee and working generally on the lines originally laid down at the Passmore Edwards Settlement. The work is carried on with the co-operation of the education authority for London (the County Council); it has been imitated elsewhere (for instance, by the authorities of the Jews' Free School in Whitechapel and of the People's Palace), and there are signs of further development. Here again a settlement provided a useful experimental ground.

Less elaborate efforts having the same general character and aims have been made by the Guilds of Play and other institutions for children which exist in connection with a number of settlements; in these less attention is paid to classes than to organized games.⁸ One feature of especial interest has been the attempts to revive the English dances, and festivals such as that of the May Queen. The somewhat unfortunately named "Guild of the Brave Poor Things," an organization which originated at the Bermondsey

⁸ Most useful work of this kind has also been done on a large scale by the Children's Happy Evenings Association.

Settlement, has met with a large measure of success in the effort to bring some light and color and interest into the dull and starved lives of the crippled children.

Public Service. We pass next to a class of activities which for want of a better term may conveniently be grouped under the general head of "Public Service," including thereunder both direct participation in the work of the various local authorities and services which are a substitute for, or an extension of, that work in various fields of administration. The general scope and nature of settlement action in this respect is indicated in the following extract from a recent Report of the Warden of the Bermondsey Settlement:—

The general tendency in the present day is to increase the functions of local authorities, and to call upon them to discharge duties which concern most clearly the moral, mental, and physical well-being of the community. The ground thus being occupied by local authorities will profoundly affect in the near future the conditions of charitable enterprise. It becomes more than ever important to secure co-operation between public authorities and bodies of well-equipped voluntary workers. In the poorer districts such agencies as Settlements are absolutely necessary if such voluntary co-operation is to be forthcoming. At a hundred points the Public Health, Education, and Poor Law authorities need the assistance of such workers, if their best schemes are to succeed and if Acts of Parliament which affect the condition of the people are to be made effective. The same necessity exists in the case of the general philanthropies of the community. . . . All such work, while distinctly civic in its nature, cannot possibly be provided either by the State or by political parties. It can only be secured by the appeals which a Settlement makes to educated and leisured men and women to undertake heavy and often thankless tasks for the love of their fellows.

(a) *Membership of Local Authorities.* The fundamental idea underlying the British system of local administration is that there will be available a constant stream of citizens sufficiently public-spirited to undertake onerous work on the local councils without remuneration and without any idea of personal gain; and that this leisured and relatively well-to-do class will also be educated and intelligent enough to grasp the complex problems of administration. This class can generally be found in the towns outside London; it can be found in some parts of London; but there are

also great areas of London which are inhabited almost solely by a population of whom the vast majority live under economic conditions which make life a perpetual struggle for existence, with scanty leisure. In such areas there is serious danger, as the experience of London has shown, that a considerable proportion of the members of the local councils will be drawn from classes (the small house-property owners, contractors, licensed victuallers, etc.) whose control of local administration is undesirable, or at best that the outlook of the councillors will be narrow and their knowledge limited, with the result that either they will plunge into reckless outlay or confound parsimony with administrative efficiency. The settlements have the opportunity of bringing into a neighborhood and placing at its disposal workers who are educated, disinterested, and independent; and though it must always be difficult for them to provide anything more than a small proportion of the members of local councils and committees (elected or other), they can set an example of civic enthusiasm and service. The difficulty of course is that membership of local authorities involves a longer stay at the settlement than is possible for most residents; some time is required for the resident to become sufficiently well-known locally for him to stand a chance of election, and then it is idle for him to be nominated unless he is prepared to serve his full term (three years); so that the tendency is rather for work on local councils to be left to the permanent staffs of the settlements (the wardens and assistant-wardens, where the latter exist, and the professional or quasi-professional social workers in the case of the women's settlements). In the case of the non-elected bodies (that is, those nominated by local authorities for various purposes, mainly connected with education and poor relief) it is of course easier for non-residents to serve; and so, apart from actual residents, the settlements can be of great use in bringing outside workers into the service of a neighborhood. In both ways they have done much. Thus the Bermondsey Settlement was recently represented on the London County Council (its warden having been co-opted an alderman of that body), the Bermondsey Borough Council and Board of Guardians, local Boards of School Managers, and Children's Care Committees; while in the report of Toynbee

Hall for 1908-09 it is remarked that "we have seldom or never had so many of our members engaged in public work—one as a county councillor, two as borough councillors, one as a guardian, and two as members of the Central Unemployed Body, while the important but neglected office of school manager has been filled by eight residents, rather fewer than in former years. A number of residents and associates have also taken part in carrying out the duties of the Children's Care Committees." The Browning Hall Settlement has given a mayor to Southwark, and a number of borough councillors and members of the Board of Guardians; the Mansfield House Settlement has given a deputy-mayor to Canning Town and has also provided councillors and guardians; the head of Cambridge House is chairman of the Camberwell Borough Council Distress Committee, and the House is represented on the local Board of Guardians and among the managers of local schools; and practically all the settlements in London have furnished members for various councils, boards, and committees of the kind indicated.

It is of course difficult for settlements to avoid, under such circumstances as prevail in London, the appearance of taking sides with one or other of the local parties, and such a position is especially undesirable where, as generally happens, parties in local affairs tend to be identical with national political parties. Fortunately, however, in London there is a large part of the electorate which does not consider that its allegiance in national politics necessarily involves loyalty to the same party in London civic questions; settlement candidates of divergent political views often appear on the same municipal platform; and without taking sides the settlements can do much to influence the elections by themselves providing, and impressing on the electors the necessity of seeking, a higher type of candidate than that which frequently offers.

(b) *Councils of Public Welfare.* One development of considerable importance in recent years has been in the direction of the formation of Councils of Public Welfare, which aim at co-ordinating local charitable enterprise, at directing attention to defects of local administration and other evils which require local or State action, and at influencing public opinion towards reform.

Toynbee Hall is the centre for such a council for Stepney, which works through an industrial law committee, striving for a better enforcement of the Factory Acts, a public health committee, a social studies committee, and a public bodies committee—the last named “having the difficult task of following the doings of the various local authorities, with a view to stimulating their action in the direction of public welfare, and guarding against triumphs of private interest over the common good.” Oxford House has promoted a similar association, which has recently devoted much attention to a campaign against Sunday trading, and to preparing those engaged in the box-making trade for the working of the Trade Boards Act of 1909, the purpose of which is the establishment of a minimum wage. Mansfield House has a Civic Union, whose objects are of the same general character, though membership is practically, but not intentionally, limited to those who are associated with that particular institution.

(c) *Public Health.* The interests of the settlements in the work of promoting public health are very numerous and varied, and it is only possible to enumerate them briefly. One of the most valuable pieces of work is the provision for instruction in the care of infant children; the most elaborate example of this is the St. Pancras School for Mothers, in which the Passmore Edwards Settlement has taken active interest, but somewhat similar institutions exist in connection with the Southwark Women’s Settlement, the Birmingham Women’s Settlement, and the Bermondsey Settlement. For the care of the sick Browning Hall has a large and successful medical mission; the Manchester Settlement has given much attention to work among physically defective children; the Bermondsey Settlement has organized a district nursing society, with a professional nursing staff; Cambridge House has a health society which is waging war against the spread of tuberculosis; the Southwark Women’s Settlement has a health society for home visiting and advice; the Victoria Settlement at Liverpool is closely connected with the district-nursing association; and in general this is a matter to which practically all the women’s settlements, or those which have women’s departments, devote much attention. The settlements also take an active part in the work of the Invalid Children’s Aid Associa-

tion, and the Children's Country Holiday Fund, which sends large numbers of town children away every year; and a new sphere of activity for them has been opened up by the establishment of the system of School Care Committees, which are intended to be "the centre of all work which affects the physical welfare and the future career of the children." The committees are to interest themselves in the general welfare of the children in the public elementary schools; "to endeavor to induce parents to obtain the advice and treatment recommended in the medical report book of the school, and to confer with the school nurses; to determine what children are necessitous," and therefore entitled to be fed out of funds raised by local voluntary contributions or supplied by the education authority; and "to advise and help parents in connection with the after-employment of children." The bulk of the work is evidently connected with public health administration; for it to be done thoroughly an army of workers will be required; the settlements have provided a considerable number, but the supply is at present still very insufficient.

Other manifestations of the practical interest of the settlements in the promotion of public health are the public baths established and maintained by Oxford House and the Claremont Mission; the provision for physical culture by means of gymnasias; the *crèches* for the children of working mothers conducted in connection with Claremont and other settlements; and the attempts to encourage the cultivation of small gardens. In this connection it may be mentioned that Browning Hall has taken an active part in the agitation for the provision of cheap and rapid transit as the best means of relieving the congestion of population in London and so contributing to the solution of the housing problem.

(d) *The Prevention and Relief of Destitution.* Scarcely any of the settlements engage to any appreciable extent in the distribution of charitable relief, but in other ways they have taken an active part in the campaign against destitution. Several of them have formed employment and apprenticeship bureaus, for the purpose of advising parents as to the choice of occupations for their boys and girls on leaving school, and to assist them in finding places, with a view especially to checking that recourse to

unskilled occupations which is so fruitful a cause of poverty. Successful work of this kind has been done by the Southwark Women's Settlement, the Victoria Settlement at Liverpool, the Birmingham Women's Settlement, and in connection with the boys' clubs of other settlements, and though the work has so far been on a very limited scale, it has resulted in the acquisition of knowledge and experience which should be of substantial use, now that the matter has been taken up by the State as part of the work of the Labor Exchanges and advisory committees therefor are being formed. In the case of physically defective children it is of course essential, if any lasting good is to be accomplished, that they should be given the opportunity of becoming independent (if only partially so) of the support of relatives and friends; much attention has therefore been given to their training in various handicrafts, and this branch of preventive work is capable of very great expansion. In this connection, and as illustrations only, reference may be made to the craft schools established by the Guild of the Brave Poor Things, to the St. Crispin's workshop at Southwark, now controlled by Cambridge House and the Southwark Women's Settlement, in which crippled boys, duly apprenticed, are trained in bootmaking, and the schemes for "after-training" which have been framed for the children dealt with by the "special schools."

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that officers and residents of a number of settlements have served on the various authorities established to deal with the unemployed, and the small success of these bodies is due not to the quality of their members but to the inherent difficulties of the problem with which they have been called upon to cope. Other lines of action have been the promotion of thrift societies and penny banks, work in connection with the provision of meals for school children (which is now coming to be a state undertaking, but for which much voluntary assistance, in respect of investigation, etc., will still be required), the supply of workers to the numerous local charitable and philanthropic agencies, and attempts at the co-ordination of charitable effort by the establishment of systems of registration (clearing-houses of relieved cases). Mansfield House has a lodging-house for men, while Browning Hall, which has long been associated

with an active agitation in favor of a national system of old-age pensions, and claims to have had a large share in bringing about its recent institution, has the peculiar distinction of having established, for some of the aged of its districts, a group of cottage homes in the heart of the country.

(e) *The "Poor Man's Lawyer."* Finally, attention may be drawn to one of the most striking developments of settlement activity, the provision of free legal advice to the poor. The system, originally established in the East London settlements, has spread with marked rapidity until it has become a normal and integral part of the work of almost every settlement. It is evident that the ignorance of the poor, even more than their lack of means, renders them frequently unable to protect themselves against the acts of unscrupulous landlords or employers; while on the other hand there is abundant evidence of a natural disposition to "go to law" with one's neighbor on the flimsiest pretext. There is abundant scope for the "poor man's lawyer," who usually limits himself to giving advice, and takes up cases where the lack of means is extreme and the hardship very pronounced, though even with these limitations the amount of useful work accomplished is very great. It is of positive utility, for a legally worded letter which the complainant is helped to write will often secure the attention hitherto refused, or the lawyer may be able to serve as a conciliator between parties (notably in the case of family disputes); and it is of negative utility, for it often discourages applicants from wasting their time and trouble in the pursuit of frivolous or hopeless claims. As examples of the extent of the work (which, it must be remembered, is carried on voluntarily by skilled lawyers), it may be stated that the Legal Department of the Manchester University Settlement dealt in 1908-09 with 2,189 cases, and Mansfield House with 2,154 cases in the same year. These are the highest totals recorded, but nearly all the other settlements show large figures: disputes between employer and employed (especially in regard to compensation for accidents and wrongful dismissal), landlord and tenant (the institution connected with Toynbee Hall bears the significant name of the "East London Tenant's and General Legal Protection Committee"), and husband and wife contribute a very large proportion

of the cases. It is particularly satisfactory to note that the importance and value of the system has received general recognition, as instanced by the invitations sent to some of the more experienced workers in this department to give evidence before the Royal Commission on the Divorce Laws, and the fact that the authorities of the solicitors' profession have co-operated in placing the work at Manchester, and more especially its recent establishment at Liverpool, on a sound basis, while naturally safeguarding the interests of the profession by taking steps to limit gratuitous advice to those who really cannot afford to pay for it.

III

The above rapid survey, imperfect though it is (for many isolated pieces of work of great interest have necessarily been omitted) will yet, it is hoped, have served to indicate the general nature and scope of the work which has been carried on by the British university and other settlements during the past quarter of a century. Clearly the sum total has been very great, and the effect far-reaching. The settlements have set an example of disinterested social service which is catholic in its sympathies and aims; they have provided a common rallying-ground for workers of divers political creeds and religious beliefs; and they have done something (though much more remains to be done) to co-ordinate charitable and philanthropic effort. They have helped to raise the standard of local government; they have served as experiment stations for many schemes—in regard to education, public health, and public assistance—which have become, or are now becoming, recognized and integral parts of a national system, and thus they have hastened the humanizing of administrative methods; they have done much to improve the present lot and future life-prospects of the children; by girls', boys', and men's clubs they have checked the demoralizing influence of the life of the great cities; and they have brightened the lives of great numbers of the poor. They have provided their residents and workers with opportunities for the close study of economic conditions and social problems, and given to many administrators and teachers their first knowledge and practical experience of the

conditions with which they have had afterwards to deal; they have mitigated class suspicion; and they have helped to carry home to the minds and hearts of men the true meaning of religion, and to bring about that awakening of the churches to their responsibility for social and economic reform which is one of the most striking signs of the times. There was never a time when so much earnest thought and effort was being expended as now upon the great questions of education (in the widest sense), national health, industrial organization, and economic well-being; the public conscience was never so aroused or so uneasy; philanthropic enterprise was never so great and varied or charity so large; schemes of reform were never more numerous, and the need for guidance derived from knowledge and experience more widely realized. This temper of the public mind is the result of a consensus of varied forces, economic, political, moral, and religious; it would be idle to attempt to claim for the settlements more than a share in bringing it about, but that share is far from being inconsiderable.

It is apparent, however, that much still remains to be done in the same directions as those hitherto followed; and there is no reason to suppose that the work of the settlements is approaching its completion, or their utility becoming exhausted. New social needs are constantly making themselves felt; old lines of work may be abandoned as the pressing need for them passes away, old efforts and enterprises may become absorbed in those of larger institutions or of the State itself; but fresh openings for voluntary energy and enthusiasm are certain to appear. The utility of the experimental work of the settlements will continue; so will the possibility of supplementing State or local action; and moreover the opportunities for the co-operation of voluntary agencies with the national administrative services are bound to be enlarged. The realization of many schemes for the humanizing of administration—in such matters as the feeding of school children, the reorganization and extension of public assistance on broader and wiser lines, the industrial training of boys and girls, the efforts to decasualize labor—will all depend for their success largely upon the co-operation of great numbers of unpaid, disinterested, and devoted workers of both sexes with the permanent offi-

cials of the State and local authorities. Herein lies one of the great opportunities of the settlements, and also one of their most difficult problems.

The settlements have already brought into the service of their respective neighborhoods a number of workers of better social position and wider outlook; they must bring a much larger number in the near future. While, however, all such workers are of use, if they are willing to act under experienced guidance, it is evident that the greatest value attaches to the services of those who can reside for a considerable length of time in the midst of the community which they are striving to assist. It is, however, often difficult for young men, of the classes from which the settlements draw their residents, to do so; and almost all the annual Reports show that it is difficult for the various institutions to get anything like a sufficient number of long-period residents—men are called away by the exigencies of their professions, even when their interest and zeal remain undiminished. Without a nucleus of residents who can stay at least three years the work of the settlements, as at present carried on, is bound to suffer; with such a nucleus it is possible to utilize, with fair effectiveness, the help of a changing set of short-term residents and of non-resident helpers. Often, however, this permanent nucleus comes to consist solely of the warden or other head of the settlement, and such other permanent officials as there may be; and if there is to be an increased call upon the settlements for public service of the nature indicated above—a call to which they must respond if they are to keep their influence and be true to their purpose—it appears almost inevitable that there will have to be a substantial increase in the “professional” element in the settlements. That element (that is, persons who devote their whole time, either voluntarily or for a livelihood, to the work of the settlements or to that of other charitable and philanthropic agencies with which the settlements are co-operating) has so far shown itself mainly in the women’s settlements or the women’s departments of other settlements; it has been absent, on the whole, from the men’s settlements, where most of the residents pursue unconnected vocations—a fact to which these settlements owe a large measure of their virility; but, if present conditions continue, it seems likely

to make its appearance there also. Such an outcome, if the professional class predominated (even only in the permanent nucleus), might seriously diminish the spontaneity of the settlement work and reduce the scope for individual enterprise; it would probably, on the other hand, secure greater continuity and possibly greater efficiency.

Further, the settlement worker of the future will need to be more systematically trained. The permanent worker, whether he can give all or only part of his time to the service, and still more the man or woman who can go to the settlements in order to get some acquaintance with the conditions of the life and labor of the people, but cannot afford a long stay, can no more be content with knowledge acquired piecemeal and haphazard; what is needed is a systematic course of training and study. Reference has already been made to what is being done in this direction at Birmingham and Liverpool, by co-operation between the universities and the settlements, and in London, first in connection with the Women's University Settlements and now at the London School of Sociology; and it is noteworthy that in all these cases it is the women's settlements which have taken the matter up, mainly for the reason already indicated, that they contain a larger proportion of residents who are making settlement work (in the broadest sense of the term) a career than do the men's settlements. But that there is real need for the extension of this organized teaching (representing all schools of thought in regard to administrative and social problems) for *all* settlement workers there cannot be any doubt.

Again, it has been pointed out that so far there has been little common action upon the part of the settlements. There has been of course, and is, a certain amount of communication and exchange of ideas between the workers in the various settlements; but there has been singularly little joint discussion of methods even where all are working with identical purposes. It is conceivable that in some places this has meant a considerable waste of energy in the struggle with difficulties of which other settlements have found the solution. The settlements can no longer be regarded as isolated efforts; they are becoming more and more allied with other institutions and with the work of the local

authorities and the State; their varied outlook only gives their accumulated experience a greater value; it is time for them to consider the possibility of an organization which, without checking individuality, shall provide opportunities for the common discussion of common problems, and shall facilitate arrangements for placing their knowledge and experience at the disposal of the public administration.

Finally, then, in the judgment of the present writer, the chief problem for the settlements in the immediate future will be that of organization. Their moral and social value has been abundantly proved; their utility to the State is fully demonstrated; their general lines of future service are sufficiently clear. What is needed now is a greater definiteness of method; a clearer appreciation of the extent to which they can co-operate with the State, and, on the other hand, of the extent to which, without the waste of energy and financial resources which results from overlapping, they must continue to go their own way, supplementing public effort or trying new social experiments. Moreover, effective co-operation with State agencies especially, though it is true in regard to other agencies also, must in a large measure depend upon confidence in the permanency and uniformity of the assistance rendered by the settlements. The problem for the settlements is to become systematic without sacrificing their individuality, without checking spontaneity, and without losing that enthusiasm for the social and moral progress of humanity which, from whatever sources fed, has carried them through many doubts and trials to the achievement of so much of lasting good.